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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a contextual framework for analysis of Hispanic leadership in higher education and reviews the demographics of Hispanic college presidents, their challenges, and related leadership issues. It can be argued that Hispanic leadership in higher education brings a socially marginalized experience that, by emphasizing social justice, can yield a broader, more inclusive view of democracy and of the role of higher education in a democratic society than can the experience of the dominant group. However, emerging research on the selection of presidents and vice presidents for academic affairs at institutions of higher learning shows that Hispanics are held to higher standards than White American males due to processes that maintain and reproduce white privilege. The broad social changes accompanying the process of globalization offer some promise of change. Improvements can go beyond the typical race-based issues by including them in larger changes that are good for everyone. For example, institutions in need of increased enrollments aren't likely to resist enrolling more Hispanic Americans. Other issues facing Hispanics relative to higher education are maintaining their positions over time, building Hispanic infrastructural leadership within their institutions, increasing the numbers of Hispanics in tenure-track faculty positions, grooming Hispanic department chairs for national policymaking, consolidating Hispanic leadership across higher-education related arenas to expand influence, expanding leadership training programs for Hispanics, and building effective leadership teams to carry out strategic management. (Contains 59 references.) (TD)

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Hispanic Leadership in American Higher Education

HACU

HISPANIC ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES & UNIVERSITIES

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Prepared for the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities

By Rubén Martinez, Ph.D.

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Foreword

This report entitled *Hispanic Leadership in American Higher Education*, by Rubén Martinez Ph.D. is one of a series of papers commissioned by the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities (HACU). HACU commissioned leading experts to describe practices for promoting Hispanic success in higher education. This is part of a larger project by HACU, funded in part by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, whose goal is to create and identify methods for sharing information about educational policies and innovative programs that can best meet the higher education needs of Hispanic Americans.

The thoughts expressed in these papers are not necessarily the opinions of HACU or the W. K. Kellogg Foundation. Nor are these papers assumed to be the definitive work in their respective areas. These reports are intended to focus attention on these issues and spur further papers that will help us understand and address the complex problems affecting the education of Hispanic Americans today. For comments or questions concerning the contents of this paper please contact the author:

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Hispanic influence on higher education in the United States remains, in the main, little studied and little known.[1] In their report on the status of Chicanos in higher education, Aguirre and Martinez (1993) gave little treatment to the leadership roles of Chicanos in higher education beyond those of students, faculty, and community organizations.[2] Unfortunately, this situation, with very few exceptions, reflects the general status of Hispanics in higher education. Since our scholarship, which focuses on social phenomena, reflects the evolution of the phenomena itself, our understanding of Hispanic leadership in American higher education is extremely limited and requires systematic *scholarly* attention if substantial gains in knowledge are to occur in the near future. In other words, the entry of Hispanics into the academy since the 1960s occurred first with students and academic support staff, then instructors and faculty, and finally senior administrators (Haro, 1983; Madrid, 1982).

There are many units of analysis that one can use to study the impact of Hispanics on higher education. These include the individual, organizations, and the category of the Hispanic population as a whole. There have been many individuals who have worked hard at local, regional, and national levels to increase postsecondary educational opportunities for Hispanics (Madrid, 1982). Consider, for example, Hispanic legislators, trustees, presidents, university administrators, faculty, staff, and students, all working singly to achieve specific goals they believe will improve higher education institutions and higher education generally.

Over time, there also have been many community and professional organizations that have mobilized resources and influence to push open the doors to higher education so that Hispanics and other members of excluded categories could have the opportunity to obtain postsecondary educational credentials. The National Council of La Raza, the National Chicano Council on Higher Education, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), The Tomás Rivera Center, the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities (HACU), and the many state-based associations of Chicanos in higher education come quickly to mind (Aguirre & Martinez, 1993; Padilla & Montiel, 1984).

The Hispanic population is a large and growing amorphous category of nearly 30 million people that encompasses several ethnic groups, the largest of which are Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Cuban Americans. Through sheer numbers and their educational needs and preferences Hispanics shape and impact higher education policies and institutions. The impact does not necessarily result from the deliberate efforts of Hispanics, but from the fact that they constitute a growing part of the rapidly changing environment in which colleges and universities exist and function. To be sure, some institutions and sectors are impacted more than others, and those that are often reflect institutional adaptational efforts and responses.

Hispanics impact higher education institutions on both subjective and objective planes. It is the deliberate result of subjective intentions, however, that one thinks of when contemplating the notion of Hispanic leadership in higher education.[3] There are institutional attributes that are the result of the goal-oriented efforts of Hispanic individuals and groups that sought and continue to

seek increased access to and relevant educational experiences within the academy. The dynamics of this process have been both different from and similar to those of other ethnic minority groups (e.g., African Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, etc.) that have become part of the ethnic mosaic that constitutes the overall population of the United States.

From the work of single individuals to that of collectivities, Hispanic leadership in higher education is a highly complex phenomenon, encompassing as it does many levels and dimensions. Hispanic leadership occurs within the context of a pluralistic higher education system that includes proprietary, private liberal arts, community, junior, regional-comprehensive, research, and other types of colleges and universities. Moreover, because higher education generally has major links to other sectors of society (i.e., government, business, religious organizations, etc.) there are many avenues through which Hispanic leadership occurs, and many levels at which the sharing of power has yet to occur.

There are, for instance, innumerable advisory and regulatory committees at federal, state, and institutional levels; national and regional professional associations; state higher education coordinating commissions; institutional boards of trustees; and administrative, faculty, staff, student, and concerned citizen positions that one could belong to or occupy for purposes of contributing to the improvement of higher education for Hispanics. Representation on these bodies can be the result of individual initiative, political connections, tokenism, group demands, and many other factors.

Making sense of Hispanic leadership within the arena of higher education is an immensely daunting task. This paper has three purposes relative to Hispanic leadership in higher education: 1) to present a contextual framework for its analysis, 2) to review the demographics of Hispanic presidents and the particular challenges they face, and 3) to review some of the major leadership issues and provide general direction for improvement.

Toward a Contextual Framework

Leadership is a complex cultural process that differs across peoples and historical periods. Different leadership styles and their relative effectiveness across contexts have given rise to many theories of leadership (Bennis, 1989; Gardner, 1995). From "great men" to "high performance teams," however, leadership theories have been based mostly on industrial organizational models, although recent works have begun to depart from that framework (Bensimon, Neumann, & Birnbaum, 1989; Gardner, 1995). Application of these theories to higher education has been limited, and, overall, the study of leadership in higher education is itself a relatively new area of study (Birnbaum, Bensimon, & Neumann, 1989). Although aspects of leadership in higher education are beginning to receive systematic attention, a coherent theoretical framework remains to be developed (Bok, 1982; Gardner, 1988). The study of Hispanic leadership in higher education delimits the field even further, but it is important that it

be regarded as a constitutive component of a more general theory of leadership in higher education (Haro, 1990).

There are several aspects of the contemporary societal context that warrant examination when considering Hispanic leadership in higher education. I will focus on two: 1) the racial context and 2) globalization, both of which intersect substantially with class dynamics.

The Racial Context

The study of Hispanic leadership in higher education must, by necessity, begin with the general context of race relations in the United States. Minimally, it must be assumed that Hispanics are a heterogeneous, racially subordinated category of peoples who are differentially positioned vis-a-vis higher education on the basis of class, status, and power. Just as individuals differ across levels of capacity to influence what goes on in society precisely because they are differentially positioned relative to these three factors, so are ethnic groups (Martinez, 1991). In this paper, Hispanic leadership in higher education is used relationally and refers to Hispanic leadership vis-a-vis a dominant set of American higher education systems. It is precisely because it is an American institution that Hispanic scholars, for instance, can and do write about the "barrio-ization" of Chicano faculty members, a process not unlike the marginalization of other minority faculty (Garza, 1988; Martinez, 1998a). Indeed, because American racism has impacted the lifeworlds of the "colored" ethnic minority groups (Hispanics, African Americans, Indian Americans, and Asians) more completely than those of other ethnic minorities (Irish, eastern European immigrants), Hispanics are subordinated in all major sectors of society, including higher education (Arciniega, 1982; Aguirre & Martinez, 1993).[4]

This experience as an ethnic minority provides a particular lens (the minority lens) that filters interpretations of reality. Raymond Padilla (Padilla & Montiel, 1998), for instance, argues that the quest for social justice is a major feature of the individual lives of Hispanic faculty and administrators. Certainly, the existential reality of racial oppression colors (no pun intended) strongly the lens through which Hispanics in this country generally view the world. This "objective interest" is important for the study of Hispanic leadership everywhere in society, including higher education.

The minority lens, interestingly, tends to be seen as a limitation by members of the dominant group, who tend to assume that ethnic minorities cannot get beyond particular interests to provide leadership for Americans or for any major segment of humanity. Indeed, this perception leads to the continued exclusion of Hispanics from the top positions within institutions of higher education. Can Hispanics provide leadership beyond the realm of social justice? For that matter, can they contribute something meaningful to social justice in the United States? The quest for social justice is seen as a dead albatross around the necks of Hispanics that keeps them from flying high and providing vision for all. In contrast, it is generally assumed (by ethnic minorities

and Americans alike) that Americans can and do make those kinds of contributions—never mind the racial and patriarchal structures that constrain the lives of millions of people on a daily basis.

The German sociologist, Max Weber, argued that all human views of reality are partial views (Barnes, 1995). Put simply, the world is too great a phenomenon and too complex for any one person to comprehend all of it at once. Even those scholars who pursue the unity of knowledge would agree that ultimately all views are partial views—all are limited (Wilson, 1998). From this perspective, it follows that Americans are not absolutely privileged on the basis of knowledge in making leadership contributions to society or to higher education. History shows that different peoples have led in military, economic, and scholarly affairs during different periods in human existence. Americans have occupied such a position over the past 150 years, but with the emergence of globalization, a new reality is sweeping across humanity. This new reality is epochal in scale.

From Post Industrialism to Globalization

Globalization involves the restructuring of the international economy away from the replication model of modernization toward a global economy—one where the primary dynamic occurs at the global level and not at that of the nation-state, and where a global division of labor dominates and is intensifying (Martinez, 1998b). The transition into the new epoch, like other major societal shifts, is attended by social anomie, increased competition, scarcity of resources, and widespread unease among people. The rapid technological, economic, political, cultural, and social changes of the past two decades constitute a shift that goes beyond the so-called post industrialism of the United States and other advanced capitalist nations to establish a system of global industrialism.[5] Global capitalism is at its core a system of material commodity production, despite all the focus on information in the United States and other advanced capitalist countries.

Liberal monetary policies used at the global level to manage national debts in countries across the globe are resulting in increased inequality at both national and international levels, and political reactionary movements are exacerbating racial tensions and hostilities both here and abroad (Martinez, 1998b). Here in the United States, state governments are reducing their relative financial support of institutions of higher education, and racial politics are increasingly consuming affirmative action and race-based support for minorities in higher education. The more the American middle-class struggles to maintain its socioeconomic position within the emergent global economy, the more it scapegoats the poor, especially minority poor, who have been made homeless and today are being imprisoned in greater and greater numbers.[6]

In this context of broad change, the restructuring of the economy and government have brought a new focus on leadership in general, except perhaps among the most politically disengaged in society. Re-engineering and restructuring processes require new leadership, we are told, and innumerable models of continuous improvement can be found rippling through our institutions. One might say that the topic of leadership has itself been turned into a profit-making industry,

with millions of copies of "how to" books, tapes, and computer disks sold in specialty stores in airports and post-suburban malls (e.g., the works of Warren Bennis, Peter Drucker, and Franklin Lovey). In a sense, sales of such works are indicators of the rational approaches by which the well-to-do are struggling to make sense of the anomic conditions of society.

In education, the report *A Nation at Risk* (1983) described a "rising tide of mediocrity" which threatened the position of the United States in the political economic environment. In addition to calling for improvements in the preparation of college-bound students, the report also called for expanding access to higher education. Many succeeding reports on education went on to call for the improvement of undergraduate programs and increases in the supply and vitality of faculty (Nettles, 1995). As the external environment continues to change, pressures mount, especially from politicians, for the restructuring of higher education.[7] Issues such as institutional productivity, faculty renewal, cost control, shared governance, tenure, fundraising, enrollment management, board development, and strategic planning receive increased attention at many levels of the industry. Moreover, this attention is occurring in a context of massive demographic changes where minority populations are increasing at rates faster than those of the dominant population.

The epochal changes swirling about us are engendering broad discussions about the most basic national values such as democracy and freedom. As American institutions and the lifeworlds of individuals are increasingly swept away by globalization, an increased social reflexivity takes hold in society and people begin to examine the bases of their traditions and their possible disappearance (Giddens, 1994). In this context, the sense of malaise felt by vast populations in advanced capitalist countries has caused some scholars to speak of moral crises (Giddens, 1994; Maier, 1994). There is in the emerging global discourse on democracy a growing recognition of global interdependence which is creating "space" for ethnic minorities around the world to contribute to higher level interpretations of democracy than have been permitted within the context of the industrial nation-state.

The sociology of knowledge holds that social position is linked to one's perspective on the world (Martinez, 1991). Positions are vantage points from which one looks out upon the social world, and each has associated with it prominent interests, issues, and images (resulting from the associated lens). It is not an accident, for instance, that Hispanics and other minorities are concerned with issues of social justice, or that white Americans continue to perceive affirmative action as reverse racism (e.g., a threat to their lifeworlds). Socially marginal views stemming from minority positions in society can offer great insights into democratic institutions and society in general. It can be argued that Hispanic leadership in higher education brings a socially marginalized experience that, by emphasizing social justice, can yield a broader, more inclusive view of democracy and of the role of higher education in a democratic society than can the experience of the dominant group.

From a sociology of knowledge perspective, Hispanic leadership in higher education has great potential for integrating social justice issues within a broad and bold vision for the development of higher education. Unfortunately, given the degree of scrutiny ethnic minorities in leadership positions are forced to undergo, effective minority leaders, college presidents for instance, often must soft pedal social justice issues lest they be seen as incapable of leading (in this case, the academic institution).[8] Although the issue of social justice does not have the same salience for Americans as it does for Hispanics (once again affirming that what is general for one ethnic group may not be so for another), it is the American propensity to react racially that matters, and Hispanics leaders must always keep a barometer out to measure that propensity (i.e., how will the members of the American power structure view this or that decision or action?). Exclusion and legitimation issues, then, are central to the role of Hispanic leadership, especially at the level of institutional leadership.

The study of Hispanic leadership in higher education focuses on the nature, context, and effectiveness of Hispanic efforts to bring about improvements in higher education. The nature of Hispanic leadership refers to the values, interests, stories, symbols, and attendant goal-oriented behaviors which combine into discernable patterns in relation to specific contexts and desired outcomes. The contexts constitute the environments within which leaders articulate and promote views that, to a greater or lesser extent, mobilize others in support of specific goals. The effectiveness of leaders refers to the degree to which they are able to achieve desired institutional and/or societal outcomes and given conditions. Given the legal-rational environment which circumscribes institutions of higher education, it is quite likely that most leaders will tend to focus on policies and/or programs as the major outcomes for their efforts.

In this period of epochal historical changes, there is great focus on the need for new leadership in all sectors of society. During these periods, it is not unusual for charismatic leaders to emerge and provide vision to great social movements. It is in this societal context that we consider contemporary Hispanic leadership in higher education. As with the rise of a Hispanic intelligentsia (faculty) twenty years ago, there is today an emerging critical mass of Hispanic administrative leaders in higher education who are positioned to envision a future not just for Hispanics but for higher education as a whole and its role within the emerging global order.

Presidential Leadership

Since access remains the major issue relative to Hispanics and academic presidencies, it is logically the starting point for any study of Hispanics and presidencies in higher education. There are many factors that impact the selection of college and university presidents, not the least of which are race, ethnicity, gender, and combinations thereof. Negative perceptions of persons forced to bear the weight of societally-defined inferiority continue to exist in the academy and in communities where colleges and universities are located (Alvarez, 1973; Garza, 1993; Haro, 1990; Lang, 1984). Simple deductions made from characterizations of American society are confirmed by empirically-based profiles of American college and university presidents. One can

expect and does find a profile consistent with a society colored by white racism and patriarchy (Ross & Green, 1998).

In 1990, the typical college president was a 54-year-old white male (with a doctoral degree) (Ross, Green, & Henderson, 1993). Findings based on sample research indicate that Hispanics comprise approximately 2.6% of college and university presidents in this country and in Puerto Rico, and their white counterparts comprise approximately 90.4% (Ibid.). Estimates show that Hispanic women occupy .7% of all presidencies and approximately 27% of those held by Hispanics. The majority of Hispanic presidencies are held at two-year colleges (47.6%) and comprehensive institutions (34.9%) combined, with the majority of these held at public institutions. Few Hispanics hold presidencies at doctoral-granting institutions. This pattern parallels that of Hispanic student enrollments in that the greater the selectivity of institutions, the lower the participation of Hispanics (Ruiz, 1987).

In 1979, Tomás Rívera became the first Hispanic to hold the post of Chancellor at a major public doctoral-granting university—the University of California at Riverside.[9] Others have since followed with presidencies at the University of Arizona and the University of Northern Colorado, but they have been few in number.[10] Emerging research on the selection of presidents and vice presidents for academic affairs at institutions of higher learning helps explain why this is so and shows that Hispanics are indeed held to higher standards.

The research of Roberto Haro (1995) is pioneering in this regard. As is the case for most academic administrators, Haro found that Hispanics have to negotiate several hurdles simply to be positioned to compete effectively for the senior administrative positions at colleges and universities. They must first obtain tenure-track faculty positions, receive tenure, get promoted to full professors, and serve as department chairs and college deans, and then they can seriously compete for the senior positions. For most Hispanics successful upward mobility within the academy usually constitutes greater career achievement than for most American males, who tend to have an easier go of it because of racial privilege (Madrid, 1982). Double standards are invoked at all levels within the academy, and they are invoked with greater vigor when it comes to the selection of senior administrators.

In examining finalists for the positions of president and academic vice president at 25 southwestern institutions between 1985 and 1989, Haro found that Hispanics were among the finalists in 19 of the searches, with white males and females being the majority. Typically, there are three to five finalists within each search. Haro's findings show that members of search and screen committees held negative perceptions of Hispanic candidates, and that their expectations of achievement were higher for Hispanics than for white males and females. For example, committee members tended to impose the requirement that a candidate's doctoral-granting institution be one of high academic reputation more often for Hispanic candidates than for white candidates. The same was the case for the background variables of having the experience as both a department chair and college dean and having demonstrated significant scholarly achievement.

Search committee members interviewed by Haro even articulated negative perceptions of Hispanic candidates and referred to them as fuzzy-headed, emotional and unpredictable, affirmative action products, wimps, and coddled recipients of preferential treatment. Haro (1995) concluded his study with the following statement: "The data paint a disturbing picture for Latino candidates. They are held to a much higher level of preparation and achievement than are either white males or white females" (p. 203). Only two of the 19 finalists were hired, one as president and the other as academic vice president. This research helps explain why Hispanics are not found in substantial numbers at the most selective institutions, for there are processes in place that work to maintain and reproduce white privilege.

With Americans at colleges and universities holding what I characterize as "reverse racism" sentiments, it is unlikely that Hispanics will substantially increase their numbers in senior administrative positions unless something changes in the relationship between higher education and racism. Entry into these positions is highly political, and ethnic minority candidates are "asked" to present themselves as "whites" in order to be seen as capable of leading an institution of higher education. If they support affirmative action they are seen as wimps, but if they oppose affirmative action they are likely to be seen as tough. This is part of the racial context that constitutes America. There is some promise of change occurring, and it is to be found in the process of globalization.

Leadership in Times of Change

Today, with vast societal changes taking place, it is difficult to grasp the nature of leadership in colleges and universities, and it is especially difficult to grasp Hispanic leadership. Even during periods of societal stability there were many challenges for leaders of higher education institutions to address. These included the continuous improvement of the institutions themselves. There was the need to increase endowments, to adopt and integrate technology, and to provide faculty with developmental opportunities, for instance. Broader societal challenges included racial and gender integration. Today, there are additional burdens, including educating the public on the role of higher education. While in the past local publics were critical of colleges and universities, and state and local leaders were defenders of these institutions, today these roles seem to be reversed (Harvey & Immerwahr, 1995).

Overall, the economic, political, and social contexts of institutions of higher education have changed tremendously, giving rise to discourses about strategic approaches for leading in times of change (Bennis, 1989). In many ways, corporations are looking to colleges and universities to provide them with appropriately trained workforces and with the research and development of technology that will ease their own investments in these arenas (Slaughter & Rhoades, 1993). Since faculty are likely to see themselves engaged in a mission more noble than that of serving as handmaidens to industry, they resist, and the latter moves to mobilize public perceptions against the recalcitrants (Peterson & White, 1992). Consequently, not only are there objective challenges, there are highly charged political ones as well.

A university president today is expected to provide vision to an institution which historically has perceived itself to be outside the realm of mundane politics. In the past, the prestige of the academy attracted many community leaders to align themselves with the institution. Today, the academy is expected to become a responsive institution and provide leadership to local communities in solving the many challenges that confront them (Bok, 1982; Lynton, 1995).

There is a multitude of social problems, workforce training challenges, technology transfer demands, and educational reform needs pressuring the academy from the outside. In addition, there are faculty renewal challenges, teaching improvement demands, and continuous quality improvement needs pressuring from within. As with all periods of great social change, there are opportunities to close gaps that have previously limited opportunities for improvements. Perceiving and taking advantage of the opportunities for improvements are challenges for all leaders.

For instance, while Hispanic presidents can always be expected to have a loyal opposition among staff and faculty that stems from racial biases, today all presidents are likely to have a loyal opposition among staff and faculty resistant to institutional change. The times, then, are challenging for all, yet there exists the opportunity for Hispanic presidents to demonstrate the capacity for great vision and leadership. While there is merit to the perception that Hispanics are given presidencies only at troubled institutions, given the contemporary context of epochal change, all institutions today can be seen as troubled institutions." Although mistakes by Hispanic presidents will, in racial contexts, always make them more vulnerable than their white counterparts, there is great opportunity to effectively make important changes in contexts of broad societal change. Improvements can go beyond the typical race-based issues by bundling them up as part of larger changes that are good for everyone. Americans are not very likely to resist changes that they perceive as beneficial for them, despite the fact that they have had great difficulty in recognizing that the elimination of racism is indeed good for them as well.

A challenge for Hispanic leaders in higher education, especially presidents, is maintaining their positions over time. With the exception of a few, Hispanic presidents, in the face of the many challenges discussed above, seem not to be able to sustain their presidencies over the long run. There are many factors that might account for this, but typically they are unable to sustain after a long onslaught of attacks by their loyal oppositional forces, or they reveal their personal interest in addressing racial problems (which becomes the kiss of death for their presidencies), or they are unable to fend off those who want the presidency for themselves. Additionally, there is the issue of principles and one's commitment to them—and let us be clear about the fact that today's America is not widely regarded among ethnic minorities as a bastion of honor and integrity.

Hispanics too often are unwilling to forego their principles simply to keep their presidencies. Pressures from politicians, board members, and community leaders often call upon them to violate their principles of fairness and equity, and their reluctance to do so contributes to their demise. There is little question that there is a moral crisis in the United States today (Giddens,

1994; Maier, 1994). Because the crisis lies more with so-called leaders than it does with the population at large, it is the influentials who topple each other and then provide palatable rationales to the public as to why changes happened. In these contexts, it is critical for Hispanic leaders to have mature professional networks that provide informed support that helps them read their environments and recognize danger signals before it is too late to salvage their presidencies. Becoming immersed in local politics, for instance, increases their vulnerabilities and can result in being toppled from the presidency.

Finally, there are many levels within the academy where leadership can be effectively carried out. The president is constantly involved in providing vision and symbolic leadership, but there also is a need for "infrastructural leadership."[12] Infrastructural leaders, in sociological terms, might be seen as the instrumental leaders who are close to the problems and are constantly modifying features of the institution to make it work more effectively. Hispanic presidents would do well to have talented persons at this level of the institution, for it is at this level that institutional functioning is improved for the long run. Moreover, it is important to research the qualities and styles of infrastructural Hispanic leaders, for their work has not received any attention despite the fact that it may actually be the most important level of influence at this stage in the emergence of Hispanic leadership in higher education.

Persisting Issues

The major challenge for Hispanics relative to higher education is to build a permanent system of influence that cuts across all levels, from increasing the numbers of Hispanics in tenure-track faculty positions to grooming department chairs in the academy to national policymaking.[13] The rudiments of such a system are slowly emerging, but a conscious effort is necessary if qualitative gains are to be made in the next decade. Although HACU has exerted great influence at the national level over the past decade, more can be done to build a leadership pipeline. Moreover, its focus on supporting only presidents at Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs) remains too narrow. Senior Hispanic administrators outside of that network do not get much support and need to be brought into an expanded network. It is important to conceptualize a support system that includes the HACU presidents as one component of a broader emphasis and structure. Additionally, the administrative pipeline has to be substantially expanded through leadership programs (Perlman, 1988; Shuster, 1988).

There is little question that Hispanics comprise a very small proportion of senior administrators in higher education, and that they are put into a "box" by members of the dominant group that limits their opportunities for advancement. This is particularly the case for Hispanic women, who experience greater difficulty still in "breaking" into administrative posts (Ross, Green, & Henderson, 1993). While there are leadership programs across the country to identify talented and interested Hispanics for training, the scale of these activities remains too small to rely on them alone to increase the pool of administrative talent. Moreover, the structure of opportunities itself must be changed if increases in opportunities are to increase.

In effect, this means consolidating today's Hispanic leadership across higher-education-related arenas in order to expand influence. One dimension of this consolidation involves intergenerational mentoring so that the pipeline is always full and growing, and those coming out of the pipeline are seasoned enough to step into the breach and do well. The lack of a consolidated mentorship structure is not due to the lack of a critical mass of seasoned leaders. Already the rudiments of such a structure are out there in the form of loose networks and fledgling leadership programs. The next step is to consolidate these networks and programs into more powerful structures that can take Hispanics to higher levels of vision and influence. It is equally important to fund the expansion of leadership training programs if we are to achieve the next level of integration into the power structures of the academy. Too often, Hispanics concentrate their focus on the issue of access at the level of students, especially relative to scholarship fundraising. It is important to recognize that the issue of access continues to challenge us at every level, and that more attention is needed at the upper levels of the institution.

Another dimension in the development of a permanent system of influence is the need to build on our existing strengths. While HACU recognizes the importance of exercising influence at those institutions where Hispanic students are located, it also is important to move students into institutions where they can thrive and achieve at higher levels. Studies are beginning to show that medium-sized public institutions with enrollments between 10 and 20 thousand are contexts where Hispanic students tend to thrive and grow (Ruiz, 1987). Opportunities for Hispanic students to attend these institutions need to be increased at the same time that concerted efforts are made to increase the number of senior Hispanic administrators at these institutions.

In addition, where these institutions are experiencing enrollment problems, more than one challenge can be addressed at once. For instance, student affirmative action issues are not likely to be salient in these contexts; consequently, there is not going to be much resistance to solving the enrollment problem by attracting Hispanic students. Global issues, too, can give multicultural needs a spin that makes it more palatable for Americans to support. When Americans perceive something to be in their interest, they are much more likely to support the effort than to resist it.

Another important challenge for university presidents and leaders today is the need to provide strategic management, which is implementation of a long-term strategy to align the institution with its environment in order to ensure its survival in the long run (Rowley, Lujan, & Dolence, 1997). Strategic management is based on a deep knowledge of the institution—its characteristics and processes—and the environment in which it exists. Today, with the bridging of spatial and temporal dimensions in new ways, the environment in which these institutions are located has expanded tremendously. Not only are there local factors that university leaders must stay attuned to, but they also must link their universities to the dynamics of the global environment.

Interestingly, this combines elements of situational leadership (local) with transformational leadership (global) in an effort to align the university with its expanding environment. Like

businesses, universities are moving to create economies of scale that allow them to bring services closer to their students, and they are customizing their services to more effectively meet the needs of the populations they choose to serve (i.e., local, regional, national, and international markets). The challenge of bridging the local and global levels also forces university leaders (and hopefully, faculty) to contemplate seriously the types of products the institution should produce. In a sense, university leaders must keep their eyes on the emergent horizon if they are to be in tune with their environment.

Finally, Hispanic leaders need to build effective leadership teams at their institutions to carry out strategic management (Gardner, 1988). Not only must teams conduct strategic planning activities, but they must implement the plan. Effective team building requires knowledge of human nature and the conditions under which small groups of people can be bonded into high-performance teams that effectively carry out functions on behalf of the institution. Teams require nurturance at different points in their life cycles, but the investments of time and energy in them are worthwhile because teams can be highly effective in bringing about institutional changes and improvements. Highly effective institutional leaders usually are well-versed in team building techniques.

Conclusion

It is important for Hispanics to assert themselves with new vision and rigor in the operation and transformation of the academy. Colleges and universities are strategic institutions in our credential society because their "blessing" secures significant life chances for the "blessed." Consequently, we must keep our focus on access, which must be expanded so more can pass through the Pearly Gates. We also must expand the notion of access to include retention, for after all, there is little point to entering the academy if one cannot stay. It also is important to focus on the competencies that students must have upon graduation. The social world has become so incredibly complex that only those who have the appropriate social and technical skills to successfully navigate it are able to lead lives of plenty, while those who do not obtain such skills will end up leading lives of hardship.

Both nationally and internationally, social inequality is increasing, and Hispanics, like other U.S. ethnic minority groups everywhere, are "destined" for lives of hardship unless Hispanic leaders press onward with their quest for social justice in all arenas, but especially in higher education. Hispanics must work hard at all levels of higher education if permanent improvements are to be made, and contemporary times, because of the epochal forces at work, offer increased opportunities to make major changes. Hispanics need to consolidate their efforts and marshal their resources in order to have a significant impact. The people and the organizations already are there but they must see their way to collaborative and cooperative efforts and structures if a new level of influence is to be achieved.

For the first time in the history of this country, there exists a critical mass of highly educated Hispanics who are positioned in society to significantly improve the life chances of the rest of the population, both Hispanic and non-Hispanic. The retention of affirmative action policies can be countered by having a coordinated set of activities that brings to bear the full weight of Hispanic influence on the myths and distortions promoted by the opposition. But these efforts need to be part of a grander vision of societal democracy than presently exists.

E. O. Wilson (1998), in writing about the fragmentation of knowledge, looks to consilience as a means to its unification. Consilience means "literally a 'jumping together' of knowledge as a result of the linking of facts and fact-based theory across disciplines to create a common groundwork of explanation" (p. 41). In a sense, consilience not only can but must occur in the movements of Hispanics if disparate efforts are to become one. Only by jumping together as one will the common objectives that guide Hispanic leaders today bring about a new level of leadership in higher education.

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Endnotes

[1] Although Puerto Rico is not officially a state of the United States, its colleges and universities are closely tied to the American system of higher education. Still, Puerto Rico's relative autonomy makes its higher education system distinct from the relationship between Hispanics on the mainland and the American system of higher education. As such, institutions in Puerto Rico are not considered within the focus of this paper.

[2] Chicanos or Mexican Americans are the largest ethnic group within the category of Hispanics. As such, the report focuses on the majority of Hispanics as a U.S. sub-population.

[3] Some leaders impose their personalities on their institutions, which then become reflections of them. Others do not leave such personal imprints, but may leave behind healthier institutions when they depart.

[4] A substantial body of scholarship in the area of race and ethnic relations establishes this point. One need only peruse any introductory race relations text to find references to recent data that support this view.

[5] Political economists such as Wallerstein, and others, first began to study the emergence of this global system.

[6] Indeed, politicians have almost developed the gumption to declare the expansion of prisons the new economic development industry.

[7] For a good review of public support for higher education see Harvey and Immerwahr (1995).

[8] Americans seem to despise the salience that social justice issues have in the views of oppressed groups, and they use that salience as an indicator of the inability of minorities to provide effective leadership. It is the "kiss of death" for a Hispanic to publicly mention social justice issues within his or her role as a university president.

[9] Tomás died "in office" five years later from a massive heart attack. He has since become an icon for many Hispanics who aspire to that post in higher education.

[10] These include Manuel Pacheco and Herman Lujan, respectively.

[11] Individual Hispanics working at the national level have perceived a pattern where Hispanic academic administrators tend to assume the helm of troubled higher education institutions. This perception deserves systematic research.

[12] This aspect of leadership was emphasized by Herman Lujan in my conversations with him in the winter of 1998.

[13] This section has benefited greatly from conversations with Dr. Herman D. Lujan, whose willingness to share his experience as a president of a major doctoral-granting institution has contributed immensely to my understanding of the challenges facing Hispanics in higher education.